

extremist scare tactics being used by President Clinton and his administration. Day after day, the American people are subjected to a steady stream of disinformation about the economic realities which confront this country.

The Clinton administration has raised the standard on Washington doublespeak to a new all time high. It is unfortunate that President Clinton refuses to offer our Nation leadership at this decisive moment in our Nation's history. Instead, the only thing he offers is more fear, more taxes, more spending and more debt.

Let's look at the facts. On the balanced budget, what has the Congress done? The Congress has passed a plan for balancing the budget in 7 years using honest and real numbers. What did President Clinton do? He cooked the books and offered four budgets none of which are balanced. Furthermore, he vetoed the only honest balanced budget plan offered this year.

Looking at the facts and not at the harsh rhetoric of the Clinton administration, it should be clear to all Americans that Congress has accepted responsibility for the budget and the President has gone AWOL—absent without leadership. Instead of offering a serious plan, he offers the American people fear and unending deficit spending. The facts speak for themselves and they speak louder than the disinformation spread at White House press conferences.

Let's look at some more facts. We are in the fourth day of a partial Government shutdown. What has the Congress done? Congress sent three spending bills to the President which would have kept open the Departments of Veterans Affairs, HUD, Commerce, Justice, State, and Interior. What did President Clinton do? He vetoed two of these bills and says he intends to veto the third. He had the power to prevent the shutdown of these agencies and to keep Federal workers on the job. Instead, with the stroke of a pen he sent thousands of Federal workers home.

That wasn't enough for this President. He also threw in some fear-mongering for good measure. The administration fired-up its disinformation machine and unleashed a tirade of doomsday rhetoric against those spending bills. The facts speak for themselves. The Congress did its job and passed appropriations bills which responsibly reduced government spending and which would have kept most agencies open. But, President Clinton wasn't interested in that. He was looking for a photo opportunity. He vetoed funding bills and closed down parts of the Government. He should be held and will be held accountable for this shutdown.

Let's look at some more facts. The President's Medicare trustees informed the administration earlier this year that Medicare is on the verge of certain bankruptcy. What did Congress do? We passed a plan to rescue Medicare from bankruptcy and preserve it so that it

will be there for all Americans when they retire. What did President Clinton do? At first, he turned a blind eye toward the problem—as if by ignoring Medicare the problem would go away. Then he engaged in a well orchestrated campaign to frighten America's senior citizens about congressional efforts to save Medicare.

Since President Clinton has no serious Medicare plan to offer, he instead offers fear instead. This display of self-serving political opportunism has no match in Washington. Such desperate and dishonest tactics should be and will be rejected by all Americans who are serious about integrity in government because the facts simply don't support the President's rhetoric. The Medicare reform plan passed by Congress, in reality, provides for greater spending increases than the socialized health care plan offered by Mrs. Clinton just last year.

The President is knowingly misleading the American people about Medicare. He should stop his campaign to frighten our senior citizens and he should get serious about saving Medicare.

When you look at the budget, the Government shutdown, and Medicare—the facts simply don't support the President's false rhetoric. In reality, this crisis has been engineered by the President to bolster his reelection campaign. After being viewed as irrelevant for so long, the President has now identified himself with something he believes in passionately. He is passionate about deficit spending. He is passionate about the preserving the status quo which heaps trillions of dollars of debt on our children and grandchildren.

I hope that he will abandon his extremist scare tactics and get serious about balancing the budget. So far, he has stone-walled congressional negotiators. He has refused to offer a balanced budget plan using honest numbers. He prefers to cook the books as a way to balance the budget. Such policies will not lead to a balanced budget. They never have and they never will. President Clinton has chosen the path of certain failure. Congress will not follow him down that dead-end road.

I believe that we need another vote on the balanced budget amendment. I can think of no better Christmas present for America. I believe that the American people sent a clear message to Congress in 1994. They demanded that Washington put its financial house in order. Another vote on the balanced budget amendment will show who is serious about achieving this necessary goal for our children and grandchildren.

Sadly, President Clinton worked hard to defeat the balanced budget amendment earlier this year. The Nation is now entirely focused on this all important issue. Let's bring up the constitutional amendment for another vote before the end of the year. Then the American people will know who is committed to a balanced budget. They will

also know who to blame if the budget is not balanced. They will know who to blame if our future is mortgaged beyond our ability to comprehend.

I support the balanced budget amendment and I support the legislation passed by Congress to balanced the budget in 7 years using honest numbers. Unfortunately, the President oppose both. And, no amount of extremist rhetoric from the White House can hide that fact.●

#### THE PRO-SERB MONTENEGRINS

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, occasionally as we read magazines and newspapers, we find articles on things in unlikely sources.

Recently in reading the *Christian Century*, I came across an article by Paul Mojzes titled, "The pro-Serb Montenegrins" which I ask to be printed in full in the RECORD.

It describes the situation in Montenegro, a small Province in what was once Yugoslavia but a Province that has produced leaders including Milovan Djilas, Slobodan Milosevic, and Karadzic.

It is not a particularly encouraging article, but it is informative and because I have seen nothing about this anywhere else, I believe it merits placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so those interested in this area can read it.

The article follows:

TRAVELS IN THE BALKANS: THE PRO-SERB MONTENEGRINS  
(By Paul Mojzes)

The Montenegrins are fond of joking that if their rugged mountain terrain were ironed out, the area would be as huge as Russia. Living in the tiniest and least populous republic of the former Yugoslavia, Montenegrins have tried to compensate by identifying with Russia and by propelling themselves into the ruling elites of other Yugoslav republics as fiery communists or fierce nationalists. They have produced such leaders as Milovan Djilas, Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadzic.

During World War II Montenegro spawned the most feared nationalist Chetnik units as well as fierce communist Partisans. Members of both groups slaughtered the opposition even if that meant turning against their own families. Vendettas and a fixation on revenge complicated the conflict by making people cross ideological lines out of tribal loyalty.

During the current Balkan wars no direct fighting has taken place in Montenegro, though Montenegrin "volunteers" ravaged nearby Dubrovnik and its vicinity. Consequently, travelers have been able to move about Montenegro unobstructed. The terrain of these "black mountains" is rocky, yielding neither timber nor agricultural products. Nor are there many mineral deposits. But fabulous tourist attractions abound, particularly along the Adriatic seashore, one of the most beautiful in the world.

Foreign tourists are now avoiding the area while most Serbs and Montenegrins are too impoverished to travel. For those who venture here this may be a plus. None of the services are overburdened and both food and transportation are readily available. However, travelers flying to Belgrade from one of the two Montenegrin airports have been

forced to share space with wounded evacuees from the Bosnian battlegrounds. They apparently have been transported this way in order to avoid the UN-controlled border-crossings between Serbia and Bosnia. The purpose has been to give credence to Milosevic's claim of no longer supporting the Serb warriors in Bosnia. Not many in Montenegro would take such a claim at face value.

The single most important issue in Montenegro is defining its people's identity. Some claim that Montenegrins are Serbs, that indeed their country is the very heart of Serbdom, as a politician of the Narodna (People's or Folk) Party told me. Others say that Montenegro is a separate nation now endangered by Serb attempts to absorb it.

In Niksic, the ancient capital in which the ecclesiastical head of the Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Amfilohije Radovic, resides, graffiti declare that he should leave Montenegro, though he is one of the few Serbian Orthodox hierarchs who was born there. Metropolitan Amfilohije militantly espouses the Serbian cause, and the number of such supporters is growing as the ethnoreligious conflict continues. Both the leftist Democratic Party of Socialists (former communists), which holds a firm grip on power, and the right-wing People's Party are pro-Serb. Only the Liberals, who garner a mere 10 percent of the vote, staunchly proclaim "Montenegro is Montenegrin," though there are others who insist on claiming the sovereignty for Montenegro accorded to it by the 1974 Yugoslav constitution.

If one visits only the Adriatic resorts one gets an impression of economic well-being, despite tourist workers' complaints that these resorts are operating at less than half of their capacity. Food in the hotels and at the markets is plentiful though expensive. Other consumer goods are available, since people have found a way to skirt UN sanctions. That cows graze on the lawn of the state government building in Podgorica (formerly Titograd) may be a better overall economic indicator.

In Podgorica as elsewhere, the socioeconomic difference between people is striking. In one section of the city the apartments for the old communist elite and the new entrepreneurial class feature TV radar disks for nearly every dwelling. Here people dress with an ostentatious display of wealth. But Podgorica's slums resemble those in greatly impoverished countries. Incomes, while considerably better than in 1993, range between \$50 and \$150 a month. Many workers, however, are paid only every third or fourth month, and approximately 60 percent of the work force is on "forced vacation"—unemployed and with no welfare benefits. Even the casual observer will notice huge numbers of people hanging around the streets or the numerous drinking places. Even those who do eke out a meager living say that there is little hope for a better future. People survive by trading in the black market and by accepting bribes. Nearly everyone is engaged in smuggling, selling or reselling something—from the lucrative smuggling of gasoline and weapons to the pitiful reselling of single cigarettes. Police raid only the "little fry." Bigger business is protected by the mafia, which is said to reach to the very top of government. Armed robberies in the rump Yugoslavia have increased from about 70 in 1991 to over 2,000 in 1992-93. Few robbers are apprehended.

However, the "new" Yugoslav dinar is fairly stable. After 1993's great inflation the government pegged the dinar to the German mark at a 1:1 ratio. While on the black market the dinar recently slipped to about a 2.5:1 ratio, it still appears to be economically viable. The locals believe that the

hyperinflation of 1993 was approved or even prompted by the government in order to extract foreign-currency reserves from the population.

Montenegrins are traditionally Orthodox Christians with a small minority of Roman Catholics (derogatorily called "Latins") and Muslims (called "Turks," though they are Montenegrin converts to Islam). The Albanian minority is predominantly Muslim, with a small number of Roman Catholics. There are virtually no Protestants or Jews.

The Orthodox Church was nearly wiped out during the communist period. During World War II it had sided with the Chetniks rather than the Partisans and the latter showed no pity toward the losers. Directives from Belgrade to eliminate church activities were taken seriously and religious life became nearly extinct. People would pass by a monastery without even looking at it lest they be called in for an unpleasant talk with the secret police.

Only during the last few years under the increasingly liberal Yugoslav regime was church life slowly reactivated. In the postcommunist period Orthodox Church activities are on the rebound. Right-wing nationalistic politicians believe that the church has not only a religious but a political role. Some clergy openly argue that the church should rule over the nation in these difficult times as it did in the distant past.

Adjacent to the former royal palace in Cetinje is a large monastic compound nestled against the mountain. Here the archbishop resides. A visit to the monastery was organized for a group of students and professors of which I was a part. Our guide, a middle-aged monk, spoke English fluently. He appeared to be well traveled but displayed an intense Serbian nationalism and an even greater angry anticommunism. He explained that the monastery had been destroyed twice, first by Muslim Turks and then by Latins. A display on the monastery walls credited both destructions to the Turks. Apparently the monk needed to believe that Serbs had been victimized by both of their current antagonists.

The Montenegrin government is now making amends for the communist period not only by restoring church properties but also by financing their repair. (The Catholics, on the other hand, complain that the return and repair of their properties is being hampered.)

Svetigora, the official publication of the diocese of Montenegro, is disturbing. Even the magazine's title has troublesome implications. Sveta Gora is the Serbian name for the Holy Mount Athos, the monastic republic in Greece. The journal's name suggests that Montenegro is not just a Black Mountain but a "Mount of Light"—a "Holy Mount." Combined with the ever-increasing claim made by the Serbian Orthodox hierarchs that the Serbs are "the New Israel," the chosen people of God, a "heavenly kingdom," a martyr nation that has suffered more than anyone else on earth except Christ, the name supports the dangerous conviction that all that the Serbs do is somehow of God.

A recent issue features a smiling Radovan Karadzic flanked by the patriarchs of Moscow and Belgrade. In a lengthy interview Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, claims the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit in all his political decisions and urges the political involvement of the Orthodox Church in the life of Serbians everywhere. He repeatedly emphasizes the goal of uniting all Serbs into a single state. In another interview Metropolitan Amfilohije claims that "the living God can be experienced in the East while the West is a wasteland." Another article explains why God allowed Russia, "the elite people," to experience the

apostasy of communism. The Herzegovian hard-line Bishop Atanasiye Jeftic associates NATO with Satan and links Ingmar Bergman's films to Protestantism, in which there is "neither mercy, nor space for the human being, nor salvation."

Svetigora's contents make one wonder whether the effort of some German and Dutch churchmen to expel the Serbian Orthodox Church from the World Council of Churches does not have merit. There is a parallel between the Deutsche Christen aberration during Hitler's era and this militant Serbian Orthodoxy. In Germany, however, there was resistance by a Confessing Church led by people like Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer; the Serbian Orthodox Church has not yet produced such internal critics, just as Balkans politics has not produced its Václav Havel. The political threat in the Balkans is Nazism; the religious threat is idolatrous nationalism. •

#### GAMING LOBBY GIVES LAVISHLY TO POLITICIANS

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, with monthly profits from single casinos running to millions of dollars, gambling promoters are using their newfound wealth to increase the spread of gambling. Grassroots community groups who raise concerns about new casinos are being outspent 50 to 1 in some areas.

In Congress, high-priced lobbyists are attempting to stop a simple effort to gather information about the impact of the spread of gambling.

A recent New York Times story, "Gaming Lobby Gives Lavishly to Politicians," clearly describes issues that deserve our attention. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times News Service, Dec. 18, 1995]

SPECIAL REPORT: GAMING LOBBY GIVES LAVISHLY TO POLITICIANS  
(By Kevin Sack)

In only five years, the gambling industry has bought its way into the ranks of the most formidable interest groups in American politics, spending huge sums to gain the kind of influence long wielded by big business, big labor and organizations of doctors and lawyers.

From the Empress riverboat casino in Joliet, Ill., to the Mashantucket Pequot tribe in Ledyard, Conn., gambling interests, which now run casinos in 24 states, have used vast profits gleaned from their craps tables and slot machines to fatten the campaign coffers of political candidates and wage multi-million-dollar lobbying offensives.

While state officials have been the primary beneficiaries of the industry's largess, there has also been a surge in contributions to federal and local officeholders.

Gambling-financed political action committees gave three times as much to congressional candidates and the national parties in the 1993-94 election cycle as they gave in the previous two years, according to Common Cause and the Center for Responsive Politics, two Washington-based organizations that monitor campaign financing.

The \$2 million total for the cycle put the industry in the same league as long-established interest groups like the United Automobile Workers, which gave \$2.4 million, and the National Rifle Association, which gave \$2.2 million.